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/19 cont./

[798 621] social cohesion of the community (1).

[162 795] 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also [891 777] placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

794 798 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 665 578 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings [829] of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

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665 666 518 829 [646] This means that Brazilians born in other States have made careers in different parties of Bahia and have been elected to represent the Bahians at the legislative assembly of the State or at the national parliament. The same candidate, moreover, had been elected governor several years earlier, before this attribute of "foreigner" exerted a decisive influence in the fight led against him.

829 577 /20/ Brazilian customs condemn all social discrimination; the Bahians, particularly those of the more advanced groups, pride themselves on these traditions of tolerance and liberalism, and consider them proper for forming the very prototype of the cordial Brazilian man whom Gobineau describes: "to be very polished, gracious, very friendly," and whose qualities are defined by a Brazilian sociologist as a mixture of kindness, tolerance, and good manners. Life in Bahia is appreciated and envied by some, criticized by others for its slow rhythm, its lack of combativeness, its strict particularism, and for the thousand mechanisms that always work in a way to mitigate the antagonisms and the conflicts between groups and individuals. The French sociologist Roger Bastide said some years ago that it is good "that in Bahia very rapid progress is not at all prejudicial to the qualities of soul that make up its charm."

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641 829 186 What contributes a great deal toward mitigating the tensions between the groups that confront one another in the society of Bahia is the polarization of dissatisfaction that in all of Brazil, but especially in our city, takes place concerning the idea of "government," that is to say, public authorities in general, the population having the habit of discharging on them its aggressive impulses, imputing to this very vague entity all the evils that beset Bahia.

829 *563 As for race relations, one may state that a certain antagonism exists between Blacks and mulattoes. There are, without doubt, some color prejudices in Bahia, but, as a moreno of liberal profession says, "prejudice is not only the doing of Whites; out of fear of being assimilated with the Blacks, the mulatto avoids them and draws closer to the Whites." A number of informants think that

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From this point of
/52 cont./ view politics is in the process
178 of becoming one of the most powerful means of social transforma-
*563 tion. The politicians take the greatest care to promote the regis-
565 tration on the lists of the largest possible number of persons of the
666 lower classes, among whom there is a majority of Blacks and métis, people more dependent and less educated and for that reason also more amenable to propaganda and demagoguery. In the months that precede the general elections held simultaneously every four years throughout the country, the candidates for political offices spend considerable sums and multiply their efforts, directly or through the instrumentality of their canvassers, to persuade the people to have themselves registered as voters. The services that they render these voters are one of the means they count on to obtain their votes. As a result, the most popular politicians are those who, not having or pretending not to have class or color prejudice, approach the most humble voters, shake hands and embrace them when they meet them, pay them visits or receive them at their homes or in their offices, and who, after having been elected, continue to lavish on them the same demonstrations, in public or in the government palaces or chambers. A number of politicians, because of this, are assisted by black and mulatto canvassers, who thus, in our day, maintain the loyalty and the devotion that their ancestors showed the families in which they were slaves.

178 In former times, an informant tells us, a man of dark color
*563 could not enter political life; he could be a canvasser, but he was
666 rarely a candidate or a member of a party. In spite of this, in the
[665] municipal council of Bahia there was /53/ always one or two Blacks of humble occupation, elected thanks to the influence of political-party chiefs, and some morenos or mulattoes of more or less high rank were elected as representatives in the legislative
[646] assembly of the State of Bahia. With the political revolution of
[467] 1930, representation by class in the chamber of the State and in the federal chamber was created; in that way numerous manual laborers, black or mulatto, were elected as representatives of
[665] their unions. When union representation was suppressed in 1937,
[467] colored men continued to try to obtain improvement of their social situation by taking part in the life of the parties.

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000 175 178 *563 645 646 situation by taking part in the life of the parties. This phenomenon is not entirely new, except in that it affects men of dark color and modest circumstances, for since the monarchical epoch numerous métis bearers of nobiliary titles granted by the emperor had represented Bahia in the imperial parliament and occupied posts in the national ministries. At least three ministers of foreign affairs, chosen among the statesmen of Bahia during the Empire and the Republic, were métis of great talent and of great social and political prestige. One of the most brilliant federal deputies of the republican regime established in 1889 was a dark mulatto, a health-service engineer, a historian and linguist of renown. Alluding to this intellectual, someone once said to a dark young man: "You will never be president of the Republic, but you can hope to acquire the fame of a Teodoro Sampaio." If one is to believe oral tradition, a member of the highest tribunal of justice [173] [829] of Bahia, a métis of very high social and intellectual rank, asserted in a speech that Bahia has always had the lead in this tradition "of liberty and equality among men who do not belong to the same race or at times to the same religion."

*563 • 666 During the last election campaigns, the attitude of certain candidates toward colored persons was exploited in favor of some and to the detriment of others. Thus, rumors were circulated in 1945, according to which a candidate for the presidency of the Republic was supposed to harbor color prejudices and not allow the admission of Blacks and dark mulattoes into the military aviation services, which he then directed. It is maintained that these accusations contributed to reducing the number of votes in favor of this candidate in Bahia, in spite of the efforts that his party made to lessen the bad impression that this revelation had produced, even among the Whites. On the occasion of the 1950 campaign, the followers of one of the candidates for the office of governor of the State distributed a tract in which a newspaper favorable to another candidate was accused of having published an article whose author maintained that Negresses made themselves /54/ ridiculous by aping white women. In both cases it was an attempt to cause difficulties between candidates and voters. Moreover, a national association of colored men recommended to

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*563 the voters of Bahia, by means of printed proclamations, a White
-666 candidate for the federal deputation because he had been "a champion of racial democracy and of the valorization of the colored masses of the Brazilian people." A recommendation of this kind, however, or the fact that a candidate is colored cannot have a determining influence on his election, as the results of the last plebiscite prove. A young lawyer, a dark mulatto, very attractive in manner, was twice a candidate for a municipal office; his friends told him that as a colored man he would certainly have a chance of being elected. Nevertheless he was not elected either time, and it is precisely in the district of the city where the largest part of the colored proletariate is found that he had the least votes.

*563 Although some dark leaders think that their group ought to
666 have its own representation in the government (1),
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> 1. A pardo writer asserted that "the Negroes who form our economy ... already definitely assimilated and developed, at present claim, by way of the new generations, a better and more dignified position and even more direct participation in the responsibilities and in the destinies of the State"; cf. W. Morais, in A Tarde, Bahia, 21 October 1950.

the voters do not seem to decide in favor of such a solution. Sometimes, however, the color of the candidate is regarded as the symbol of his rank and of his ties to the lower strata of the population. One of the most popular politicians of the city, elected many times to the municipal chamber as "a true representative of the people," is a non-graduate lawyer, a mulatto.

*563 It is possible to come across colored persons in the leadership
665 of certain local parties, but the "peoples" and "workers" parties always group together more Blacks and mulattoes than the center and the right. A dark Black participated in the leadership of one of these parties, along with Whites and morenos, some of whom

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*563 665 perform very important duties in the government of the State. A merchant of mixed blood, wealthy and refined, and moreover one of the directors of a strong centrist party, was elected federal deputy in the last elections. These two men exert great influence on their respective parties; this influence is also due to the financial support and to the devotion that they do not cease to lavish on them. The Communist Party does not have a legal existence, but, according to some informants, it exploits the difficulties of the poor and stimulates racial antagonism; the newspaper that it publishes in Bahia and the candidates that it presents under the cover of other parties receive some support from poor colored people; one of /55/ the most important of its leaders is a mulatto of liberal profession.

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*563 •666 646 [162] At the last elections numerous persons of dark color were candidates for political offices, but the registers of the electoral tribunal bear no indication of the candidates' type. It is known, however, that among the 103 present representatives of the people of Bahia in the federal, municipal, and State legislative assemblies there are approximately 30 o/o morenos and pardos, some of whom are quite dark. Several of them enjoy great prestige, and it should be noted that in the assemblies they are by no means grouped according to their type or their racial origin. The politicians of one and the same party conduct their tours and their election campaigns together, and their prestige by no means depends on their color, but on their personality and the parties or political leaders with whom they are affiliated. One can currently read in the newspapers appeals signed by persons of different "quality" with a view to paying tribute to politicians likewise of different "quality." A deputy from Bahia is regarded as the one member of the national parliament who shows the most Negroid features, but this does not create any difficulty for him in his political work. It is said that a white deputy speaking from the rostrum of parliament has presented himself more than once as a "mulatto from Bahia" in order to become better identified with the representatives from the State of Bahia.

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178 * 563 • 666 Thirty or forty years ago, among the insults hurled at political adversaries in the newspapers and even in the speeches of the legislative assemblies, the epithet "mulatto" or "Negro" was frequent. Today this takes place less often, because the style of political contests has lost much of its character of personal reprisals. Nevertheless one of the last governors of the State of Bahia, a statesman of national fame and once even a deputy minister to one of the presidents of the Republic, was a moreno of great moral and intellectual prestige. While he was in power, none of his political adversaries publicly alluded to his "caste." But, after he had left his office, a newspaper of another city, criticizing his activity, published a comment entitled "Administrative profile of a pardavasco" (1),

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1. Pardavasco = diminutive sometimes used as a synonym of pardo.

an article in which the qualification mulato pachola was repeated in a contemptuous sense; another politician, in turn condemning his work in the government, delivered a speech against what he called "the creole democracy of the creole M.," the expression "creole" being used here in the sense of a Black or the descendant of a Black born in Brazil. Recently in the national parliament a politician from another State, feeling offended /56/ by the newspaper of an industrialist of Bahia, a whitened mulatto, gave a violent speech in which he called the latter "métis of low extraction." Attacks of this kind, however, do not always come from finos Whites; more than once they are the doing of "Whites in color."

* 563 555 In short, although it is rare that a Black or a dark mulatto reaches a high political position, it is nonetheless true that for many colored people politics is a means of elevating oneself in the social hierarchy. Attacks of the kind that we have alluded to show a certain antagonism toward the colored men who elevate themselves thanks to politics. At the present time the leader of [646] the governmental party in the legislative assembly of the State of Bahia is the red curiboca (métis of Indian and White blood) of whom we have already had occasion to speak. It is for this reason